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conceived position, bias or prejudice, that the staff would be requested to conduct its own research and find the facts as they appeared to the members of the staff. I believe the staff has done this and that its report is an honest appraisal. In searching for the truth, the committee could not ask a staff to do anything except to seek the facts and to draw its conclusion from those facts.

I am not interested in seeking in the report a partisan political position. It does not help in solving the chief issue at stake.

Its importance is larger than evaluating and analyzing what has happened in the past, although that is important to provide help in dealing with the situation today and in learning lessons for the future. Its chief importance is that it proposes to Members of the Senate, Members of the House, and the people, that they continue to search for alternatives to a continuation of the war—a war in which the United States will be bogged down for a long time, and a war which can lead to the unhappy possibility that at some time our country and North Vietnam will come to that last confrontation where Vietnam will be tempted to ask China to intervene, and China will intervene.

It is the continuing search for alternatives that I believe gives hope. We have talked a lot about negotiations in the past, and it appears at times that negotiations are impossible. But I would voice the belief that this position is not correct, that it is not true, and that our Government should continue to seek new avenues toward negotiation, and that at the least we should not put ourselves in a position where the possibility of negotiation is foreclosed.

In 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966 I spoke on Vietnam. My theme always has been the pursuit of negotiations, to determine if there was any possibility of a peaceful solution to this war. Speaking in the Senate in March 1965, I urged the President to make a statement that our country would negotiate without any preconditions—unconditionally.

A month later he did make that speech at Johns Hopkins. Early in 1966 I urged that the bombing pause be continued to test the possibility of negotiations, and early this year I made the same statement. Some time later, perhaps next week, I intend to speak again on this subject and again voice my hope that our country will not place itself in such a position in Vietnam that the possibilities of negotiations will be lessened or perhaps denied.

Today I wish to say that I believe the chief importance of this report which has been made by the staff of the Republican policy committee is that it states in essence and by implication that we should not accept as final, all that was done in the past, that we should keep our minds open, voice our opinions, and continue to seek a solution or settlement of the war other than on the field of arms.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM—  
WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS  
FROM EUROPE**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have read in the press stories relative to what would seem to be a difference of opinion relative to the building of an antiballistic missile system, and also on the question of U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe.

It would be my hope that the letter which Ambassador Thompson handed to Premier Kosygin in Moscow in January of this year when he assumed his duties once again as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, which called for consultations on the part of both countries to consider ways and means to prevent both countries from building antiballistic missile systems, would be given a chance to be considered because if we start on an ABM race it is my understanding that it will cost this country anywhere from \$30 billion to \$40 billion. I assume it would cost the Soviet Union somewhat the same amount of money, and even then, neither country would be assured of the protection which the antiballistic missile system supposedly would give.

Of course, if there is no way to arrive at a mutually satisfactory agreement, I would assume that we would have no choice except to start digging in and making a system of our own. But it appears that if we embark on an arms race in this particular area we are laying the groundwork for future trouble which will not be beneficial to either country, or the world for that matter; and it could well end up as a waste of money, because at the end of it there would still be a standoff.

I would hope that we would give the most serious consideration, and that the Soviet Union would, too, to some sort of mutual agreement which would forestall the beginning of an arms race in this field, which could go into tens of billions of dollars, and allow both countries, if such an agreement were reached, to spend some of this money for the welfare of their own peoples, for the betterment of their own societies, and for a modicum of assistance, at least, to some of the underdeveloped and undeveloped countries of the world.

This is a most serious situation and I commend the administration for trying to work it out with the Soviet Union. I would hope that the Soviet Union would look at it in the same light as the civilian authorities in this country do.

Mr. President, the second matter refers to the question of U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe.

It is my understanding that there was considerable opposition to this suggestion, and from the military point of view that opposition was perhaps well founded; but I would like to commend

the administration on this matter, and to point out that on the basis of announcements already made there will be a total reduction in Europe of 115,000 U.S. military personnel, military dependents, as well as civilian employees when the tripartite agreement recently announced goes into effect.

Broken down, that would include the withdrawal from France of 18,000 troops—of course, they are no longer there—and from Germany there would be 35,000 troop withdrawals to begin, I believe, the first of next year; or a total amounting to 53,000 U.S. troops withdrawn.

On the matter of dependents, 21,000 have already been withdrawn from France, and 25,000 I assume will be withdrawn from Germany beginning the first of next year; or a total of 46,000 military dependents will have left or will leave Europe.

In the matter of civilian employees, the withdrawal from France brought about a reduction of 11,000 in that category, and the announced reductions from the Federal Republic of West Germany will bring about a reduction of 5,000 in civilian employees in that country. That would be a total of 16,000 civilian employees who would be removed from the rolls in France and Germany.

The grand total of 53,000 troops withdrawn or to be withdrawn, 46,000 military dependents withdrawn or to be withdrawn, and 16,000 civilian employees removed or to be removed would amount to 115,000. This, I think, is an encouraging first step. I commend the administration for what it has done, and I believe we are facing up to the realities of the Europe of today and not the Europe of 15 years ago.

**EXECUTIVE SESSION**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive business, for the purpose of considering Executive G, 88-1; Executive A, 90-1; and Executive G, 90th Congress. These are Executive Calendar Nos. 16, 17, and 18.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of Executive G, 88th Congress, first session; A and G 90th Congress, first session.

**CONVENTIONS CONCERNING THE  
INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF  
PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTS;  
AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 109 OF  
THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS; AND CONVENTION ON  
NARCOTIC DRUGS, 1961**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have all three conventions reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection the clerk will report the three conventions.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in the Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider Executive G, 88th Congress, first session; and Executives A and G, 90th Congress, first session;

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Executive G, 88-1, concerns the international exchange of publications and documents; Executive A, 90-1, is an amendment to article 109 of the United Nations Charter; and Executive G, 90th Congress, is the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, which were read the second time, as follows:

[Executive G, 88th Cong., first sess.]

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS AND GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS BETWEEN STATES, ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AT ITS TENTH SESSION, PARIS, 3 DECEMBER 1958

The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris from 4 November to 5 December 1958, at its tenth session,

Convinced that development of the international exchange of publications is essential to the free exchange of ideas and knowledge among the peoples of the world.

Considering the importance accorded to the international exchange of publications by the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Being aware of the provisions for the exchange of official publications and government documents for the International Exchange of Official Documents, Scientific and Literary Publications and in the Convention for the Immediate Exchange of Official Journals, Public Parliamentary Annals and Documents, concluded in Brussels on 15 March 1886 and in various regional agreements for the exchange of publications.

Recognizing the need for a new international convention concerning the exchange of official publications and government documents between States,

Having before it proposals concerning the exchange of official publications and government documents between States constituting item 15.4.1 on the agenda of the session,

Having decided, at its ninth session, that these proposals should be made the subject of international regulation by way of an international convention,

Adopts, this third day of December 1958, the present Convention.

#### ARTICLE 1

##### *Exchange of Official Publications and Government Documents*

The Contracting States express their willingness to exchange their official publications and government documents, on a reciprocal basis, in accordance with the provisions of the present Convention.

#### ARTICLE 2

##### *Definition of Official Publications and Government Documents*

1. For the purpose of the present Convention, the following are considered official publications and government documents when they are executed by the order and at the expense of any national governmental authority: parliamentary documents, reports and journals and other legislative papers; administrative publications and reports from central, federal and regional governmental bodies; national bibliographies, State handbooks, bodies of law, decisions of the Courts of Justice; and other publications as may be agreed.

2. However, in the application of the present Convention, the Contracting States shall be free to determine the official publications and government documents which shall constitute exchange material.

3. The present Convention does not apply to confidential documents, circulars and other items which have not been made public.

#### ARTICLE 3

##### *Bilateral Agreements*

The Contracting States, whenever they deem it appropriate, shall enter into bilateral

agreements for the purpose of implementing the present Convention and regulating matters of common concern arising out of its application.

#### ARTICLE 4

##### *National Exchange Authorities*

1. In each Contracting State, the national exchange service or, where no such service exists, the central authority or authorities designated for the purpose, shall carry out the functions of exchange.

2. The exchange authorities shall be responsible within each Contracting State for the implementation of the present Convention and of bilateral agreements as referred to in Article 3, wherever appropriate. Each Contracting State shall give its national exchange service or the central exchange authorities the powers required to obtain the material to be exchanged and sufficient financial means to carry out the functions of exchange.

#### ARTICLE 5

##### *List and Number of Publications for Exchange*

The list and number of official publications and government documents for exchange shall be agreed between the exchange authorities of the Contracting States. This list and the number of official publications set forth in the Convention for exchange may be modified by arrangements between such authorities.

#### ARTICLE 6

##### *Method of Transmission*

Transmissions may be made directly to exchange authorities or to recipients named by them. The method of listing consignments may be agreed between exchange authorities.

#### ARTICLE 7

##### *Transport Charges*

Unless otherwise agreed, the exchange authority which undertakes the transmission shall bear the cost thereof as far as destination, but for transport by sea, the cost of packing and carriage shall be paid only as far as the customs office of the port of arrival.

#### ARTICLE 8

##### *Rates and Conditions of Transport*

The Contracting States shall take all the necessary measures to ensure that the exchange authorities benefit from the most favourable existing rates and transport conditions, whatever the means of transport chosen: post, road, rail, inland or sea transport, airmail or air cargo.

#### ARTICLE 9

##### *Customs and Other Facilities*

Each Contracting State shall grant its exchange authorities exemption from customs duties for both imported and exported material under the provisions of the present Convention or under any agreement in implementation thereof and shall accord them the most favourable treatment as regards customs and other facilities.

#### ARTICLE 10

##### *International Co-ordination of Exchange*

To assist the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the performance of the functions concerning the international co-ordination of exchange assigned to it by its Constitution, the Contracting States shall send to the Organization annual reports on the working of the present Convention and copies of bilateral agreements entered into in accordance with Article 3.

#### ARTICLE 11

##### *Information and Studies*

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization shall publish information received from the Contracting States in conformity with Article 10 and shall prepare and publish studies on the working of the present Convention.

#### ARTICLE 12

##### *Assistance of Unesco*

1. The Contracting States may call upon the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for technical assistance in connexion with any problem arising out of the application of the present Convention. The Organization shall accord such assistance within the limits fixed by its programme and its resources, in particular, for the creation and organization of national exchange services.

2. The Organization is authorized to make, on its own initiative, proposals on these matters to the Contracting States.

#### ARTICLE 13

##### *Relation to Previous Agreements*

The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the Contracting States by virtue of international agreements. It shall not be construed as requiring a duplication of exchanges conducted under existing agreements.

#### ARTICLE 14

##### *Languages*

The present Convention is drawn up in English, French, Russian and Spanish, the four texts being equally authoritative.

#### ARTICLE 15

##### *Ratification and Acceptance*

1. The present Convention shall be subject to ratification or acceptance by States members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.

2. The instruments of ratification or acceptance shall be deposited with the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

#### ARTICLE 16

##### *Accession*

1. The present Convention shall be open for accession by all States not members of the Organization invited to do so by the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

#### ARTICLE 17

##### *Entry into Force*

The present Convention shall enter into force twelve months after the date of the deposit of the third instrument of ratification, acceptance or accession, but only with respect to those States which have deposited their respective instruments on or before that date. It shall enter into force for each other State which deposits its instrument of ratification, acceptance or accession, twelve months after the deposit of its instrument of ratification, acceptance or accession.

#### ARTICLE 18

##### *Territorial Extension of the Convention*

Any Contracting State may, at the time of ratification, acceptance or accession, or at any time thereafter, declare by notification addressed to the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization that the present Convention shall extend to all or any of the territories for whose international relations it is responsible. The said notification shall take effect twelve months after the date of its receipt.

#### ARTICLE 19

##### *Denunciation*

1. Each Contracting State may denounce the present Convention on its own behalf or on behalf of any territory for whose international relations it is responsible.